

"Fifth Amendment" college teachers

In Chicago on Dec. 18 Senator McCarthy threatened to pursue his anti-Harvard bent to the point of legislation. He would like a law forcing colleges to dismiss "Fifth Amendment" teachers under penalty of losing their Federal tax exemption. Benefactors of such institutions would not be allowed to avail themselves of the tax relief accorded donors. What is behind the Senator's animus against Harvard? Last spring three of its professors (out of 3,000) resorted to the Fifth Amendment when queried about their Communist connections—one before the Velde Committee, two before the Jenner Committee. The Harvard Corporation (in the person of three lawyers, two bankers and a physician) on May 19 reported in favor of retaining these professors. They found that Dr. Wendell H. Furry and Leon J. Kamin had dropped their CP membership and that Dr. Helen Deane Markham had never been a member. They found all three guilty of "misconduct" for refusing to answer—but not "grave misconduct," requiring dismissal. Harvard agrees that no present Communist should be retained. The issues revolve around the identification of present Communists and the assessment of their past misconduct as a reason for dismissal. Dr. Furry, because of what seemed like proven mendacity in the past, was put on probation. Unquestionably, Harvard seems to be showing toward these people more forbearance than many educators believe justified.

... who is to judge?

The big question looming up, however, is whether, after congressional committees uncover such cases, the final decision should be made by politicians or by the universities themselves. Is the United States suffering any proven harm from Harvard's action comparable to the harm of political interference with higher education? Senator Jenner is on record in favor of having the institution take responsibility for corrective action. Certainly where private colleges and universities are concerned, we agree with him. The vast contributions they have made to American life, including public service, should rule out hasty punitive action against them.

Winchell drops a dud

Those who rushed to buy the Dec. 21 *Newsweek* on Walter Winchell's word that it contained a "shocker" on U. S. trade with Red China had plenty of reason to feel gypped. All that *Newsweek* carried was a nine-line item noting that in 1952 the United States carried on more trade with Red China than did Britain. That particular piece of information happens to be at least three months old. The facts were published in the Foreign Operations Administration's Sept. 27 report to Congress on the working of the Battle Act. On pages 82 and 83 of that enlightening report are tables listing all trade of free countries with the Soviet bloc during the period 1947-52. In 1952 Britain exported to the China mainland goods valued at \$12.8 million, and

CURRENT COMMENT

imported goods valued at \$8.4 million. During the same year the United States exported nothing at all to Red China but imported \$27.8 million worth of goods. So total U. S. trade with the Communist enemy was greater than total British trade. Incidentally, our imports from Red China were mostly hog bristles and crude feathers—items needed for our strategic stockpiles. Had Mr. Winchell really wished to make a journalistic splash, he should have called attention to trade between Hong Kong and Red China. That British colony exported to the mainland in 1952 goods valued at \$91 million and imported goods valued at \$145.3 million. But that is stale news also, and, on examination, not nearly so scandalous as critics of U. S. foreign policy pretend.

Polish bishops' loyalty "oath"

The announcement two weeks ago by Warsaw radio that the Polish bishops had taken an oath of loyalty to the Red regime shocked the outside world. The reported action is confusing in that it professes attachment to a Government which wages an undisguised war of terror on the Church and only a few months ago laid violent hands upon the Primate, Cardinal Wyszyński. The propaganda use of the news clearly indicates that it was sprung for the advantage of the Communist regime. For several years it has been evident that the Polish hierarchy were going to extraordinary lengths to seek some sort of *modus vivendi* with the "People's Poland." In April, 1950 they caused surprise by concluding an agreement with the Government. In their Feb. 11, 1952 comments on the draft Polish Constitution, they described the agreement as constituting "the most interesting and important form of coexistence between the Church and the Marxist State." In their pastoral of May 8, 1953, it is true, the Polish bishops vigorously protested against the anti-religious policies of the Reds in the fields of education, the press, administration of the western territories and systematic "diversionary" tactics in ecclesiastical affairs. Yet they declared they had entered into the 1950 agreement fully realizing the "tremendous trump" their action would place in the hands of the Communist Government before the court of world opinion. *Osservatore Romano* for Dec. 19, unable to confirm or deny the report of the bishops' oath, took the position that if it had in fact been given, the explanation lay

in the "violence and falsehood, perfidy and hypocrisy, blandishments and blackmail" the Government had often used to oppress the Church. "An oath taken under such conditions," it concluded, "is objectively invalid."

Christmas under Capricorn

On the hot Christmas Day just past, the crowds that thronged the sun-soaked beaches along the South African coast from Port Elizabeth to Durban had plenty to talk and think about as they lazed in the sunshine. About the newly formed Central African Federation just north of them, for instance, which held its first elections for the Federal Parliament Dec. 16. Sir Godfrey Huggins' Federal party, which advocates "racial partnership" between whites and Negroes, won a smashing victory, taking 24 seats out of 35. The Confederate party, standing for racial segregation, got only one seat. This topic of surfside conversation, however, can only have been a subsidiary to discussion of the blockbuster dropped Dec. 18 by Prof. Gerhardt Gerdener of Stellenbosch University when he declared that "the domination of the white race in the world is definitely over." Professor Gerdener is one of the chief theoreticians of the white-supremacy Nationalist party of Prime Minister Daniel F. Malan. His action might be comparable with a repudiation of the Taft-Hartley Act by the late Senator Taft. The professor went on to warn his fellow-Afrikaners:

The Afrikaner must change his way of life drastically. We stand before a period of far-reaching adaptation of circumstances . . . the Afrikaner must look within himself and ask himself what part of what is said of us abroad is perhaps true.

Words like these indicate a quest among intellectual Nationalists for a position on race relations more defensible both before the bar of conscience and before the bar of world opinion, particularly in the United Nations. They may be the first glimmer of the dawn of a better day for South Africa.

Factors in the dock struggle

By the time this issue of AMERICA is in the mail, the dock workers of New York Harbor, in an election held Dec. 23-24, will have chosen a collective bargaining agent. On the eve of the balloting indications were

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that the old, mob-infested International Longshoremen's Association, with financial support from John L. Lewis, would comfortably defeat the newly chartered AFL longshore union. For this discouraging result several factors were responsible. One was the regrettable decision of the NLRB to have an early election and to include in the bargaining unit all the craft-coopers, carpenters, grain handlers and the rest—who work on the docks but are not properly, or historically, regarded as longshoremen. In the pre-election hearings, the shipping companies joined the ILA in pressing for an early election and for an expanded bargaining unit. Another factor was the notorious indifference of powerful AFL leaders in New York City toward the federation's campaign to bring clean trade unionism to the docks. To put it mildly, the zeal for reform which was a bright spot at the last AFL convention has not everywhere penetrated to the local level. Still a third factor was the inability of AFL organizers to persuade dock workers that their jobs would be safe in the event the old union was beaten. Men who for years have lived in fear of the pier mobs do not easily shake off that fear. Many of the older men have seen other reform movements on the docks. They remember that each time those who joined the reformers ended by walking the streets. Should the men, in the secrecy of the polling booth, make all the dire predictions look silly, they will emerge much more heroic characters than many think them to be.

Pope Pius XII on "tolerance"

One passage in the Holy Father's Dec. 6 discourse to Italian Catholic jurists has definitely settled a fundamental principle. His Holiness introduced this passage by asking whether God Himself can tolerate religious and moral evil. Then he continued:

. . . Could it be that in certain circumstances He would not even communicate the right to impede or to repress what is erroneous and false? A look at things as they are gives an affirmative answer. Reality shows that error and sin are in the world in great measure. God reprobates them, but He permits them to exist. Hence the affirmation: religious and moral error must always be impeded, when it is possible, because toleration of them is itself immoral, is not valid absolutely and unconditionally. Moreover, God has not given even to human authority such an absolute and universal command in matters of faith and morality. Such a command is unknown to the common convictions of mankind, to Christian conscience, to the sources of revelation and to the practices of the Church.

The duty of repression, he concluded, must be subordinated to what promotes "a higher good." The fear that U. S. Catholics, should they ever attain political predominance, would try to destroy the "higher good" of our traditional freedoms is surely groundless.

Wives' "equality" with their husbands

For better or for worse, the age-old ritual promise of the bride to "love, honor and obey" is coming in

for re-examination at Bonn. The West German Constitution decrees the "equality of the sexes." The supreme tribunal at Karlsruhe on Dec. 18 upheld that provision as valid, thereby discarding the West German Family Law which gave the last word in family matters to the husband. When a new family law comes before the Bundestag, a lively tussle over the meaning of women's "equality" is almost a certainty. The Christian view, following St. Paul's admonition to women to be "subject to your husbands," traditionally yields headship of the family to the husband. But, as Rev. Jacques Leclercq notes in his classic *Marriage and the Family*, St. Paul merely carries on the broad human tradition whereby it is the husband's function to manage the family society. The wife's "subjection" is by no means absolute. The distinguished moral theologian, Rev. Arthur Vermeersch, S.J., held that by natural law both parents have an equal share in parental authority. Pius XI in his encyclical on *Christian Marriage* made it clear that the wife retains that precious liberty she needs in view of her office of wife, mother and companion. There is no question of obedience to unreasonable requests of her husband. The Pope points out that her subjection "in its degree and manner may vary according to the different conditions of persons, place and time." Whatever civil laws—or militant feminists—may say, women will continue to wield considerable authority as wives and mothers, but men will head the family. That balance seems rooted in normal human nature.

Necessity of the diocesan press

The treatment by the secular press of the bishops' statement last month on "The Dignity of Man" clearly illustrated the necessity of our diocesan press. Among the secular dailies, unless a Catholic read the N. Y. *Times* he could not have learned the scope of the bishops' pronouncement. The *Times* alone, according to a survey made by the *Pittsburgh Catholic*, gave the entire text. The N. Y. *Herald Tribune* ran a column-long account; the *Philadelphia Inquirer* only a half-column. The *Chicago Tribune*, which preens itself on being "the world's greatest newspaper," ran even less than that. Other secular papers which reported the statement highlighted sections supporting (they thought) their own "line." For example, the Scripps-Howard chain headlined a small section deploring concentration on economic security as materialistic. One of the Hearst papers spotlighted, by its headline and opening paragraph, what the bishops had to say about sex. Many diocesan weeklies, by contrast, published the full text of the bishops' statement. All of them, of course, featured it. While this difference in coverage between the secular and the Catholic press is not surprising, it exemplifies in a striking way what many Catholics still do not sufficiently realize: if they read only the daily papers, they are missing news of very special importance to them. The *Pittsburgh Catholic's* initiative has given us specific proof of the necessity of our diocesan weeklies.

"VERSAILLES SPECTACLE"

The President of France is a sort of father of the French family. He graces the openings of flower shows and waves benignly to crowds on the Champs Elysées during the Bastille Day parade. Generally not chosen for his first-rate ability, the President symbolizes the unity of France. But two weeks ago a deadlocked fight for this office had reduced it instead to a symbol of deep partisan strife paralyzing the Fourth Republic.

Six major parties had candidates in the field. The Socialist, Marcel-Edmond Naegelen, and the Independent, Joseph Laniel, led from the start. But Radical, MRP, Communist and Gaullist contenders all made good showings on the first ballot. M. Bidault of MRP withdrew from the race: practising Catholics haven't become Presidents of France. The Communists threw their 113 votes to Socialist Naegelen, who opposes the European Defense Community, while the withdrawal of other candidates helped M. Laniel, who is neutral on EDC. As ballot after ballot was cast, MM. Laniel and Naegelen remained deadlocked—the former just short of an absolute majority.

What lay behind this futile struggle? Was it ratification of EDC? Not solely, by any means. From the outset deep-rooted partisan rivalries and even personal vendettas were injected into the voting. For example, the Radicals tried to block M. Laniel after their own candidate, Yvon Delbos, who favors the "European" idea, had withdrawn. Radical opposition to M. Laniel had little or nothing to do with EDC and much to do with private partisan political futures. A personal feud developed within the Independent party when former Premier Antoine Pinay, to even up old scores, tried to divert votes from M. Laniel. How desperate the in-fighting became is highlighted by the not improbable report that the Radicals, in their effort to recapture future Cabinet control, attempted to bring 81-year old Edouard Herriot, dean of the Radicals, into the contest, notwithstanding his age and serious illness.

It was a sorry spectacle. Despite Washington's irritation and the mounting dangers to a France already crippled by indecision, the politicians at Versailles played their usual game of musical chairs for future Cabinet posts. An anxious world got the impression that France was committing suicide by ballot. When M. Laniel gave up the struggle on Dec. 22, it had to begin all over again.

Little mention was made in the press of the fact that the president of the Council of the Republic (the former Senate), Gaston Monnerville, was not proposed as a candidate. Traditionally, the holder of this office is one of those considered. M. Monnerville, born in French Guiana, is colored. Despite their boast of racial toleration, have the French drawn a color line around the Presidency of the Republic?

When the crisis of the Presidential elections is over, there will be other crises. In January a Cabinet must be formed. Then the fateful vote on EDC must be taken. Another attack of parliamentary paralysis might even end the life of the Fourth Republic.

WASHINGTON FRONT

Christmas Day found many thousands of Government employes and their families filled with gloomy forebodings for their futures. The reason was that a week before, Judge Richmond B. Keech, in Federal District Court, had delivered a decision which in effect said that the President has the "unlimited power" to fire any Government employe without cause, regardless of any job protection he may have had from civil-service status acquired by law and through competitive examination.

The instant case was that of Leo A. Roth, an attorney who through merit had risen to a \$10,800-a-year job in the Department of Justice. The Attorney General fired him. The Civil Service Commission ordered Justice to reinstate him. Mr. Brownell refused, whereupon Mr. Roth appealed. He lost. Judge Keech added the dictum about the President's power to fire anybody. He alleged the 1883 civil-service law as his reason.

Now, on behalf of Mr. Roth and many thousand others, it is said that many things have happened since 1883. The Lloyd-LaFollette Act of 1912 and the Ramspeck Act of 1940, to mention but two, have been considered to safeguard beyond Presidential power the jobs of civil servants, except for cases of clear incompetence or unfitness.

But there are complications. In 1947, under the McKeller rider to a money bill, President Truman put all Government attorneys in "Schedule A," in which the jobs are not in civil service, though the incumbents might be. Mr. Truman decreed that in this case the employe's job was secure. Judge Keech's decision upsets this decree, as in fact the Administration has been doing in practice. The President put several hundred jobs in "Schedule C," a policy-making, purely political category. The previous incumbents were demoted or dropped.

But the matter goes further. If the Roth decision stands, then it would appear from Judge Keech's wording that the President has the power to declare *any* job to be outside civil service. This would be a return to the old spoils system. It is argued with some reason that the Republicans may live to rue this, if and when the Democrats come back to power. They will have no security in their jobs.

Ironically, thousands of those already dropped were not Democrats, but Republicans, as election results in nearby Maryland and Virginia amply prove. One curious criterion, divulged by a sympathetic supervisor to a "riffed" employe, is that "they" have the seating lists of the \$100 Jackson-Jefferson dinners, to which it is known that many jobholders, though not Democrats, were often unjustly coerced to contribute.

WILFRID PARSONS

UNDERSCORINGS

At the invitation of Most. Rev. Joseph H. Hodges, Auxiliary Bishop of Richmond, Va., the twenty-fourth Catholic Interracial Council in the United States was inaugurated in that city on Dec. 14. Bishop Hodges will be chaplain of the council, the first member of the U. S. hierarchy to act in such capacity. By means of the council, said the bishop, representative colored and white Catholics would find ways to promote understanding among all members of the mystical body of Christ.

► The third annual Catholic Bible Week will be celebrated this year Feb. 14-21. Bible Week replaces Bible Sunday, which was observed annually, 1941-51, on Septuagesima Sunday. The National Center of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine (1312 Massachusetts Ave. N. W., Washington 5, D. C.) will distribute free Bible Week kits to every rectory and information center early in January, giving suggestions for the celebration of the week.

► Four hundred Newman Clubs will observe National Cardinal Newman Day on Sunday, Feb. 28. These clubs seek to promote the spiritual, intellectual and social welfare of 300,000 Catholic students attending non-Catholic colleges and universities in this country. This year's theme is "The Newman Idea in Action." Several national radio programs honoring Cardinal Newman are planned for Feb. 28.

► The Canadian hierarchy has created an Episcopal Committee on Immigration to give effect to the Apostolic Constitution *Exsul Familia* ("The Family in Exile"), issued Aug. 1, 1952 by Pope Pius XII. This papal ordinance defines and coordinates the functions of various existing Catholic organizations in the field of world-wide aid to migrants. President of the new commission is His Eminence Paul-Emile Cardinal Léger, Archbishop of Montreal. The bishops at the same time established the Feast of the Epiphany, Jan. 6, as annual Immigration Day.

► A year-end report from the Sacred Heart Retreat House for Priests at Auriesville, N. Y., conducted by members of the Society of Jesus, shows that in 1953, its fifteenth year, the house surpassed all previous records. Priest retreatants numbered 403, representing 45 archdioceses and dioceses and 25 religious orders and congregations.

► The bishops' Thanksgiving clothing campaign, Nov. 22-29, brought in more than 10 million pounds of clothing, according to Msgr. Edward E. Swanstrom, executive director of War Relief Service-NCWC. Before leaving on his Christmas visit to the troops in Korea, Cardinal Spellman blessed some 23,000 bales, sacks and casks containing 2.6 million pounds of clothing for distribution in that country. The shipment will reach Pusan about Jan. 20. C. K.

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Kremlin on A-plan

At least half the reply of the Soviet Union on December 21 to President Eisenhower's address to the UN on atomic energy was ancient propaganda. But the rest of it was a skilfully developed disparagement of his proposal of an international pool of nuclear materials for peaceful purposes. Viewed as propaganda, it was a masterpiece of belittlement.

It will do little to counter this criticism by complaining, as did Mr. Dulles in his statement on the Soviet reply, that "the Soviet Union seems not to have caught the spirit of the President's proposal." As a matter of fact, it is more likely that the Soviets *did* catch it, and decided that it was imperative to counteract its world-wide effects at once. To accomplish this, they had to ignore not only the spirit of his proposals, but the entire line of reasoning on which he based them.

Mr. Eisenhower argued, at least by implication, that the frontal attack on the problem of atomic control had failed after seven years of discussion in the United Nations. So let us try a minor offensive against a limited objective:

The proposal has the great virtue that it can be undertaken without the irritations and mutual suspicions incident to any attempt to set up a completely acceptable system of world-wide inspection and control.

The purpose of his proposal was "to open up a new channel for peaceful discussion, and initiate at least a new approach to the many difficult problems that must be solved in both public and private conversations . . ." Ignoring these key sentences enabled the Soviets to build a strong case against the plan.

Since only some small part of nuclear materials would be pooled, production of new atomic and hydrogen weapons could continue. Granted. The proposal in no way limits the possibility of using such weapons. Granted. The necessity of prohibiting the new weapons is not mentioned. Granted again. In fact the proposal by-passes the whole question of prohibiting atomic weapons and establishing effective international control. Also granted.

The Eisenhower proposal could well be dubbed "Operation By-pass." It mapped out a temporary detour. But its destination is the same as that stated by the Soviets, "that mankind be spared the horrors of an atomic war."

The true nature and purpose of the President's plan needs explaining not only to the Russians but to the American public. We suggest that Mr. Dulles enlarge upon the sentence in his statement which reads: "Its very purpose was to find a new and clearly feasible basis which will permit of actually getting started."

We have good grounds for believing that the American people may be somewhat confused about the President's novel proposal. Some of the newspapers may have contributed to that confusion. The N. Y. *Herald Tribune* headlined its December 9 story:

EDITORIALS

"EISENHOWER BIDS WORLD BAR ATOM WAR BY DEPOSITING KEY MATERIALS WITH U. N." This utterly misleading headline was based on the lead in its dispatch from UN headquarters, which began: "President Eisenhower laid before the free and Communist worlds today a plan to prevent an atomic war . . ." He strongly espoused this aim, but his *plan* was a marginal step "to hasten the day when fear of the atom will begin to disappear." It was no more than that.

The USSR "expects" Washington to come forward with explanations of "passages which are not clear" in the President's proposal. This challenges us to a propaganda contest. Real progress on the plan can only be made apart from this contest. Meanwhile mankind hopes the secret parleys will pay off.

Food and comfort aren't enough

During the spring of 1951 a series of articles in the *Los Angeles Times*, since edited in a brochure by Arabian American Oil, paid a glowing tribute to Aramco's management of its oil concession in Saudi Arabia. The articles pointed out that, of the four Middle Eastern oil-producing countries, Saudi Arabia alone appeared immune from the danger of going Communist. The reason given was that Aramco was devoting as much of its time and money to raising the living standards of its 14,000 Arab workers as it was to the actual production of oil. The brochure implied that communism was no more a threat in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia's oil center, than in Texas.

This highly optimistic picture has since proved too good to be true. Labor unrest has finally reached Saudi Arabian oil fields. The first evidence of widespread discontent came last October 27 when 13,000 of Aramco's native employees walked out to begin a twelve-day strike.

The ostensible reason for the walkout was a decision of the Arabian Government to forbid the oil workers in the eastern coastal province of el Hasa to form unions. The strike was organized, however, by a handful of Communist agitators who were capitalizing on the low educational level of the workers to embarrass both Aramco and the Government. Relatively high living standards had evidently not rendered the Saudi Arabian worker immune to Red propaganda.

This disturbing development raises profound questions. In combating communism in underdeveloped countries, is it enough to rely solely on banishing eco-

conomic want? Aramco's experience indicates that even the well-intentioned efforts of Westerners to share the benefits of industrial society with former members of a feudal society cause social and psychological dislocations which Communists can exploit.

The advent of Aramco to Saudi Arabia has turned former Bedouin tribesmen into a rootless industrial proletariat. It has undermined the tribal and religious loyalties traditional to the desert nomad. It has brought no substitute for the eroded direct personal relationship between the individual Arab and his tribal sheikh, religious leader and king. An impersonal industrial complex does not fill the void.

It is to the credit of some of the oil industries operating in the Middle East that they have recognized and attempted to fill this void. This is particularly true in Saudi Arabia, where Aramco has spared no expense to aid, educate and better the living conditions of the Arab worker. Yet, as E. L. de Golyer, director of the American Petroleum Institute, remarks in the *The Near East and the Great Powers*, the industries are really performing "duties which are the proper functions of the state." He adds that, as the oil operations become stabilized, the state should assume responsibility for its normal functions; the companies should confine themselves to the business of producing oil.

This normal allocation of functions has not taken place in Saudi Arabia as fast as the industries would like. As a result the Bedouin is inclined to look for leadership where he can find it, even if this means going to the Communist-indoctrinated labor agitator.

The problem cannot be solved without the cooperation of the Saudi Arabian Government. It does emphasize, however, that, as General Marshall noted in his Nobel Peace Prize address, "material assistance alone is not sufficient" to cure the world's ills. Where it merely disrupts traditional social relationships, it may even defeat its purpose.

"New look" for defense

In his December 14 address on the "new look" defense plan before the National Press Club in Washington, Admiral Radford, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, set the stage for an historic congressional debate.

In providing for the national defense, it is now plain that we have come to a parting of the ways. Within the next six or eight months, acting through their elected representatives, the American people must determine whether they wish to rely on the traditional concept of "balanced forces" or instead trust their security chiefly to air power and atomic weapons. The National Security Council, headed by President Eisenhower, has already made its decision. Two weeks ago it voted for the "new look." Only the assent of Congress is needed to make this revolutionary shift in defense policy official.

Behind this revision, as Admiral Radford told his newsmen audience, lie considerations other than mili-

tary ones. It reflects a "wider range of political and economic factors," he said, "as well as the latest technological developments." The Admiral made no bones about the nature of the economic factors which influenced the decision. "In this day and age," he said, "the military must be realistically concerned about keeping our national economy strong . . ." To that end the Joint Chiefs were intent on reducing overhead, improving ratios of combat manpower to total manpower and, in general, on making better use of manpower in uniform.

He conceded, in other words, that the Joint Chiefs had done their planning within the limits of Secretary of Defense Wilson's order to provide "more defense for less money." This is the policy which the noted military writer Hanson W. Baldwin describes as "a bigger bang for a buck."

There is no doubt that with the "new look" in force, national defense will cost the taxpayer \$4 or \$5 billion less in fiscal 1955 than the \$43 billion originally projected, and considerably less in the two fiscal years following. According to John A. Hannah, Assistant Secretary of Defense, the "new look" will reduce men under arms from the current strength of 3.5 million to "substantially below the 3 million figure" by 1957. A reliable Washington source reports that the Army will drop from its present strength of 1.5 million men to about one million men in June, 1957. Navy manpower, including the Marine Corps, will decrease from approximately one million to 850,000. There will be a slight increase in Air Force personnel from 945,000 to 975,000. Naturally this will mean considerable savings.

The question that remains to be answered is whether the nation will really have "more defense" in 1957 than it has today, or than the old Joint Chiefs, under General Bradley, projected for the same year. Closely connected with this is the question, to what extent, if any, is the "new look" a rationalization of the Administration's laudable quest for a balanced budget and lower taxes. Before buying the "new look," Congress will surely want answers to these questions.

It will also want an answer to a question of even greater significance. Does the decision to emphasize air power and atomic weapons mean that we are committed to fight future wars by mass atomic attack on the enemy's industrial and communications centers—in a word, on his cities? If so, and apart from the moral issue this raises, what becomes of Gen. Matthew Ridgway's repeated assertion that wars are won on the ground and that there is still no substitute for the foot soldier?

Finally, Congress may ask what effect the new policy is likely to have on our allies. Will they be willing to continue to mesh their rearmament programs with ours if we gear ours to an all-out atomic war? And might they not also "economize"?

Until such questions as these have been answered, the Editors of this Review suspend judgment on the "new look." We are not military experts, but then the "new look" is not a purely military decision either.

How justify resistance to tyranny?

Robert A. Graham

A NUMBER OF GENERALS of the former Wehrmacht have recently become active in German public life, and the press has duly commented upon these developments. The latest to appear is Field Marshal Friedrich von Paulus, commander of the ill-fated garrison at Stalingrad, who has now been released from Soviet custody and seems slated for an important role in Soviet-controlled East Germany. From Bonn, capital of the German Federal Republic, come reports on the activities of other former high-ranking military men gathered by Chancellor Adenauer's defense aide, Theodore Blank, to draft plans for the prospective German contribution to the European Army. Among these are Hans Speidel, former chief of staff for Rommel, and General Heusinger, former chief of operations for the Army High Command.

"THE MEN OF JULY 20"

Yet another group of generals has recently become more and more prominent on the German scene, although in a different way—for most of them are dead. These are the men who led the military opposition to Hitler, which began before 1939 and ended with the abortive July 20, 1944 attempt upon Hitler's life and the subsequent blood-bath of reprisals.

The ghost of this plot still hovers over Germany for reasons that Americans find hard to comprehend and which, unfortunately, our foreign correspondents have not taken much pains to clarify for their readers. In the past year and a half the neo-Nazis have been exploiting to considerable effect the "traitorous" acts of the men of the military resistance. These generals, it is urged, were not only traitors but also violators of their solemn military oath to the Fuehrer. Such charges are hard to answer in a way that will completely satisfy the German mind. It is not surprising that even non-Nazi Germans confess themselves disturbed. If an effective answer is not soon provided, the ground will be laid for a new "stab-in-the-back" legend, this time with the men of July 20 as the villains.

The English military historian John W. Wheeler-Bennett has just published a thoroughgoing study of the German army in politics from 1918 to 1945 (*The Nemesis of Power*. St. Martin's Press. 829 p. \$12). Not lacking a certain British outlook that an American and not only a German will recognize at some points, this meritorious work should displace the hasty histories that have seen the light of day since the war began and after. It provides an excellent factual background for the study of the postwar crisis of German thought on the limits of military obedience.

Discussions of the Nuremberg war-guilt trials (1945-46) revealed the necessity of the natural law as a juridical basis for trying and condemning the Nazi war criminals (cf. "Suarez at Nuremberg," AM. 1/12/46, pp. 402-404). A similar problem is being discussed in Germany today: by what right did certain German officers plan a revolt against Hitler? Fr. Graham, associate editor of AMERICA, shows some implications of this problem, for Germany and for the world.

The bomb that exploded on July 20, 1944 in Hitler's headquarters on the Eastern front was the first public revelation that there was any serious resistance to the Nazi regime among the military. But July 20 was only the last act of a resistance that had begun even before the war. One of the leading spirits of the anti-Nazi group was the chief of staff of the German General Staff, Col. Gen. Ludwig Beck himself.

In 1938 Beck sent an emissary to London to warn that Hitler was planning war and to urge British intervention at once. His immediate successor, Col. Gen. Halder, sent another emissary on the same errand as the clouds of war were gathering thicker. It is part of the tragedy of the recent years that these unprecedented ("reasonable"?) efforts of the highest military leaders in Germany met only stonelike incredulity and inaction in London.

After the outbreak of the war, Beck carried on his efforts to undermine Hitler. Though he was now no longer on active service, he enjoyed the help of the head of the German Intelligence Service, Adm. Wilhelm Canaris. During the "phony war" phase (September, 1939 to May, 1940) Beck's emissary was at Rome engaged in lengthy contacts with a British spokesman. The latter, according to Mr. Wheeler-Bennett, was Sir D'Arcy Osborne, Minister to the Holy See. (In 1942 analogous conversations were conducted in Stockholm, with Dr. George Allen Bell, Anglican Bishop of Chichester, acting as intermediary.) The essential points of the Roman conversations—they could not be called negotiations—included the unseating of the Nazi regime and the withholding of an offensive against France.

No positive results came from these contacts, and the offensive of May 10, 1940 definitely ended that phase of the plot. But even that fateful day showed how far the military resistance was willing to go in pursuit of objectives it considered essential. On May 9 one of Beck's closest collaborators, Gen. Hans Oster, took the unprecedented step (perhaps on his personal initiative) of tipping off the Dutch military attaché in Berlin that his country and Belgium would be attacked on the day following. He also revealed details of the attack, including, it seems, the fact that it would be featured by parachutist operations upon key forts. The success of the May 10 offensive consolidated Hitler's position at home, but the conspirators did not desist from their work. They carried on, even gathering recruits, until the fateful summer of 1944.

Were these men "traitors" in the real sense of the word? Were they justified in plotting against the man

to whom they had given their personal oath of loyalty?

On March 15, 1952 a court in Brunswick sentenced Otto Ernst Remer, leader of the neo-Nazi Socialist Reich party, to three months in prison for slandering the memory of the men of July 20. In political speeches Remer, himself a former general, had attacked them as traitors and oath-breakers. The court, after hearing the expert testimony of historians, military specialists and moral theologians, absolved the generals from blame. The fundamental ground for its decision was that the Third Reich could be considered an "illegal State" (*Unrechtsstaat*), no oath to which was binding. Those who worked against it were, in the mind of the court, defending the higher interests of the German people and therefore were not traitors.

Unfortunately the decision of this provincial court has by no means resolved the basic theoretical problem or cleared away confusion in the minds of many Germans. The core of the difficulty is that Germany has no tradition of resistance to unjust rulers. This is especially true of the professional soldier class. In the long military history of Prussia and Germany generally, instances of conspiracy or disobedience at the highest levels are rare indeed. The case of Gen. Hans Yorck, who defied the orders of the Prussian king by making a separate peace with the Russians in 1812, is a conspicuous exception. The resistance headed by Beck and Canaris was a violent and abrupt departure from the hitherto sacrosanct ethics of German military tradition. The shock is still felt.

WANTED: A "HIGHER LAW"

The issue is not one of professional military ethics only. The principles of the natural law are at stake, as the presiding judge of the Federal Republic's highest court, Dr. Hermann Weinkauff, recently testified. In a remarkable personal memorandum under the title, "The military opposition against Hitler and the right of resistance," Chief Justice Weinkauff pointed out that the political and juridical theories long in vogue in Germany had deprived the nation of a basis for defending itself against the totalitarian system. Not only the generals, but politicians and jurists as well, were "helpless and without counsel" before the phenomenon of the state power exercised for criminal ends. He blamed juridical positivism for having obscured the idea of the "higher law."

Rev. Max Pribilla, S.J., veteran staff member of *Stimmen der Zeit*, pointed out in the June, 1953 issue that the question of *Widerstandsrecht* penetrates into the domain of theology as well. "This [the right of resistance] is not only a military problem," he wrote,

but also a problem in government, a problem of orientation for the masses and, above all, a problem for moral theology, the deciding of which is not the sole competence of officers and soldiers.

He added that if every German had learned at school what every American child learns in reciting the Declaration of Independence, to wit, that whenever a government becomes destructive of the true ends of

government, "it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it," the recent history of Germany might have been completely different.

THE WITZLEBEN GROUP

What is being done in Germany today to clarify the "right of resistance," with specific reference to the crisis evoked by the unprecedented actions of the generals of the military opposition? The above-cited memorandum of Justice Weinkauff was prepared for a study group (known as *Europäische Publikation*) gathered by former Wehrmacht Maj. Gen. Hermann J. W. von Witzleben, with headquarters in Munich. He is a cousin of Field Marshal Erwin von Witzleben, executed by Hitler for his part in the July 20 conspiracy. The participants include not merely former high-ranking military personalities and leading jurists, such as Justice Weinkauff, but also theologians (both Catholic and Lutheran) and historians. The results of the discussions of this group will be published in the course of time, and will undoubtedly contribute to a much-needed emphasis upon the natural law in public affairs.

It goes without saying that the Witzleben group has not found the full answers to the questions it asks itself. One major problem, for instance, is that of defining the individuals who would have the right of active resistance. One of the group, Professor Kuenneth, Lutheran theologian of Erlangen University, has argued that only those placed in high position should be considered to enjoy this "prerogative." In this he disagreed with Justice Weinkauff's more extensive view. A compromise of sorts was arrived at by an agreement that the definition should not be too narrow.

Another difficulty being encountered by the group is an external one and concerns the expediency of such a study. Some fear that examination of the conduct of the men of July 20 may only stir up dying embers that were better left undisturbed. General von Witzleben, on the contrary, holds that this is the moment to provide a "clear moral compass" for the new German forces now being organized. It is essential, in his view, to work for the creation of sound military ethics and a civilian conscience "free from the serf-like submission of unconditional obedience" that has hitherto characterized both civilians and military in Germany. How to do this without jeopardizing the essential requirements of civil order or legitimate military discipline has been a foremost concern of the study group.

The Witzleben circle and others working to a like end are entitled to the encouragement and support of the friends of freedom everywhere. If the men of July 20 go down in the Germans' history of Germany as traitors and unprincipled oath-breakers, instead of as idealists who answered the call of a higher law in the true interests of the nation, the structure of the new Germany will be seriously undermined. It would not be rash to assert that all efforts to "democratize" Germany from the outside will go for nothing if the men of July 20 are discredited.

The question is being seriously discussed in Bonn whether, in view of the controversy over the generals of the resistance, it would not be better to eliminate entirely the military oath for the officers and men who will form the projected German contingents in the European Army. No decision seems to have been taken as yet on this point. That the question should even arise in the office of Herr Blank shows how deeply the issue has confused and disturbed the general public. The Germans still have the greatest difficulty in conceiving an oath limited by a higher law.

Year of testing for U. S. labor

Benjamin L. Masse

PROLONGED GAZING into a crystal ball—figuratively speaking, of course—reveals a fairly gloomy prospect for organized labor in 1954. If union leaders, despite membership gains and healthy treasuries, are worried men these days, the reasons (in their calculations) are not hard to discern.

First of all, and above all, there is the cool relationship between organized labor and the White House. In years gone by, labor has lived with Congresses almost as unfriendly as the 83rd. It has been dealing with hostile State legislatures since the early 1940's. It has long since become accustomed to a critical press. What labor has not experienced for two full decades is an unfriendly Administration. No matter what winds of adversity blew from every other quarter, union leaders enjoyed during all the past twenty years a safe and sympathetic haven at the White House. Now labor feels that the welcome mat is no longer out at the big house on Pennsylvania Avenue.

In a way, of course, having supported the losing candidate, union leaders expected the worst after the November elections. Nevertheless they nourished a tender hope that the Eisenhower Republicans, intent on the long-range well-being of the GOP, would not exact the full price of victory. The CIO announced a policy of neutrality toward the incoming regime. The AFL went further and talked in terms of co-operation. When the President scandalized the Taft wing of the party by naming Martin Durkin to his Cabinet, it looked for a while as if labor might still do some business at the old stand.

That optimistic mood has long since passed. Today labor expects nothing good from the Administration. (It never did have any hope for the 83rd Congress.) This was clear even before the AFL and CIO conventions last fall, and the anti-Administration tone of those gatherings was surprising only in its intensity. Now, as if resigned to the worst and prepared to cut

The "treason" of the military opposition to Hitler is a peculiarly German problem that can only be answered by the Germans themselves. It is obvious, on the other hand, that the interest of the non-German world in the outcome of the debate is not limited to the possible danger that a new "stab-in-the-back" legend may emerge. As Father Pribilla has pointed out, the issue goes deep into the very nature of civil society and should concern moral theologians as well as politicians, not only in Germany but throughout the free world.

As the first year of a new Administration in Washington nears an end, what is in the minds of union leaders as they survey the next twelve months? Fr. Masse, S.J., of the staff of this Review here makes a venturesome effort to enter into their minds and explain to our readers why, in his opinion, the men who lead U. S. labor, with or without good cause, feel as they do about labor's prospects.

their losses, both organizations are already looking ahead to the 1954 congressional elections.

What caused the open break with the Eisenhower Administration goes far beyond the Taft-Hartley Act. Over the years the labor movement has become identified with a series of programs which, in its judgment, are good not merely for workers, but for the country and the whole world as well. Here at home it has supported slum clearance, public housing for low-income groups, conservation of natural resources and Federal power projects, civil-rights legislation, a strong, actuarially sound OASI, anti-depression planning and a half-dozen other "liberal" programs. These it associates with social justice and a better break for the masses of the people.

Abroad, U. S. labor has been aggressively anti-Communist. Both AFL and CIO have striven to destroy Communist influence in foreign labor movements. They have supported heavy outlays for defense and foreign aid. From the very beginning they lined up solidly behind all Point-4 type programs. They have even reversed, despite scattered protests, labor's traditional opposition to low tariffs and large-scale immigration.

Labor feels that here at home the Eisenhower Administration has either capitulated to the conservative interests in Congress or has flabbily compromised with them. The labor press these days is full of sharp references to giveaway programs, tax relief for the rich, surrender to the real-estate lobby, hard money and planned recession. It is only slightly less critical of certain aspects of the Administration's foreign policy, notably the retrenchment in Point-4 aid and the economy drive in Harold Stassen's Foreign Operations Administration. Several weeks ago AFL president George Meany angrily resigned from the FOA advisory council, charging that Mr. Stassen had economized labor's role in foreign aid out of existence.

So labor is restless and unhappy. Its causes are going by default. Everywhere in Washington it is on the outside looking in.

What disturbs the more thoughtful men in labor is the conclusion which seems to follow from the Washington freeze-out. The fact appears to be that ever since the late Senator Taft's victory in Ohio's 1952 senatorial election, many politicians have shown a growing independence of organized labor. They no longer fear its power to retaliate at the polls. When farm voices are raised in protest, as they have been recently, Washington stops to listen. When the AFL complains and the CIO expostulates, few there are any more who bend a politically cultivated ear.

PUBLIC OPINION

There was a time in this country when organized labor could count on a large fund of public sympathy and support. Are the politicians convinced that this fund has been largely dissipated?

Knowledgeable union leaders are under no illusions. Now that organized labor has achieved numbers, money and economic power, they know that it cannot depend on the instinctive sympathy which the public feels for the underdog. They are aware that many people living on fixed incomes blame union wage demands for the big jump in postwar prices and the consequent drop in their standard of living. They appreciate that some recent strikes have been highly unpopular, even among union members, and that revelations of labor corruption are a growing stench in the public's nostrils.

These men are naturally intent on regaining the sympathy of the public. They know it's quite a job.

To people outside the labor movement, it is hard to explain, for instance, that unions, for all their hard-won power, are far from being top-dogs in the market place. In industries and trades where the small firm is characteristic, unions can, and sometimes do, throw their weight around. They don't ride rough shod, however, over General Motors, or U. S. Steel or American Telephone and Telegraph. If they try, as they have, they frequently emerge from the ensuing struggle unhorsed, with not much more in the pay envelope than the employer offered in the first place. Throughout big business, where the real seat of U. S. industrial power lies, the heavy battalions are still on management's side. But try to explain that to a public which obtains almost all its information and opinions from the pro-business daily press.

The same is true of labor's case for postwar wage increases. Probably the ablest public-relations man in labor's ranks, Walter Reuther, attempted this during the celebrated 1945-46 strike against General Motors. If he really convinced many people that labor had no desire to make progress at the expense of the community, they have long since lost the faith and gone over to the opposition. How many people outside labor are aware that the first big spurt in prices immediately after the outbreak of fighting in Korea

had nothing whatsoever to do with wage demands?

To justify strikes these days is an equally difficult job. It is not only that in the nature of industrial life labor almost always appears to be the aggressor, but many strikes have come to assume the character of an action directed as much against the public as against the employer. So it was with the recent milk-drivers' strike in the Greater New York area, and with the strike against Manhattan's big daily papers. In both cases the public was inconvenienced to the point where a large part of it appeared to lose patience with the strikers.

To complicate matters still more, the objectives of a fair number of strikes nowadays are scarcely the kind which bring tears to the eyes of bystanders. It is one thing to see a group of people struggling for the minimum demands of justice—for a living wage, for reasonable hours, for decent conditions of work, for the right to organize and bargain collectively. It is quite another to see union men walking a picket line because they are dissatisfied with their present wage of \$120 or \$130—depending on whether they work a day or night shift—for a 36½ hour week. Such a strike may be justified, but it is not easy to make the public see it.

It is even harder to explain the greed, corruption and racketeering which have lately been making headlines in Kansas City, Detroit, New York and the atomic-energy boom towns in Kentucky and Southern Illinois. It is perfectly true that only a minority of the 350,000-odd union officials in the country are crooks. It is true that the unethical practices of labor leaders are relatively no worse, or more widespread, than are the unethical practices of lawyers, doctors, businessmen and politicians. It is still true that it takes two to tango, that where labor racketeering exists, it frequently exists with the connivance of greedy politicians, businessmen and police officials.

All this is true, but it still leaves labor with a lot of explaining to do. The public continues to believe that labor leadership should be a high-minded, selfless profession. It refuses to become accustomed to union officials who have lost their idealism and work just as hard at becoming rich as businessmen do.

As we enter the new year, labor has other things on its mind, too. If the attitudes of management at North American Aviation, at American Can and Continental Can are typical of business thinking today, then the road ahead in collective bargaining looks rough and rocky. North American refused to budge two months ago in bargaining with the United Auto Workers. It stood pat on its small original offer, took a long strike rather than compromise and won a complete victory. As these lines are being written, the United Steelworkers have shut down the giant can companies, but there is not the slightest sign after three weeks of picketing that the companies are softening. Some big and important contracts will be coming up this year, in steel, autos, coal mining. It appears now that any union gains will be dearly paid for.

Then, within the house of labor itself, there is more than racketeering to worry about. Last month the CIO and AFL initialed a no-raiding pact, but the agreement has still to be tested. Though Messrs. Meany and Reuther are seriously intent on ending the split between AFL and CIO, some of their subordinates are less enthusiastic. Finally, there is a problem, not much discussed right now, that may assume big proportions before the year is out. How loyal is the rank and file? How many younger union men know what trade unionism is all about? How many of them can be counted on to stay with the ship should adversity strike in the shape of a recession or a series of lost strikes?

That is the way the 1954 picture looks from here. It may test the leadership of labor as it has not been tested for twenty years. The result could be bad, for labor and for the country. But it could be good—stronger, cleaner, more idealistic unions. My guess is that it will be good.

FEATURE "X"



Mrs. Eberhardt's first AMERICA article urging a Christlike Christmas appeared Dec. 18, 1943. If the campaign she describes seems to have been particularly active in Dubuque—well, Mrs. E. lives in Dubuque.

1953 WAS A MEMORABLE YEAR for the hundreds of thousands of Americans of all faiths who saw their efforts to bring Christ back into Christmas meet with undreamed-of success.

From the farthest stretches of Texas to the Carolina coast, from the densely settled states of Iowa, Illinois and Wisconsin to the mountain ranges of Colorado, Wyoming and Montana, from the bayou country of Louisiana to the great cities of New York State, religious-minded men and women worked to bring about what was a practically nation-wide honoring of the Christ Child at Christmas time.

It took just six years of work and enthusiasm and determination for this accomplishment.

The movement started in 1948 in Pittsburgh, Pa., when Rev. Bertin Roll, O.F.M., became appalled at the vast number of children who associated Christmas just with Santa Claus—and who had forgotten the Christ Child. He urged a group of 600 women who were members of the Archconfraternity of Christian Mothers to take up the work of restoring Christ to Christmas. Their first efforts resulted in the distribution to school children of about 100,000 leaflets entitled "Christ or Santa Claus." These were taken home to parents.

Meanwhile, in Dubuque, Iowa, the Catholic Mothers Study Clubs, composed of young women rearing their families, agreed to erect cribs in their homes and to get the merchants of the city to have religious displays in store windows.

The Pittsburgh idea spread to Milwaukee and St. Paul and Minneapolis. The Dubuque plan spread through Iowa and bordering towns of Illinois and Wisconsin.

In 1951, Dubuque merchants erected two mammoth religious scenes in the downtown park. Street medallions depicted the Wise Men following the Star of Bethlehem. Religious window displays drew thousands of out-of-town people to the city during the holidays. Some of the window cribs had life-size figures.

Chicago stores achieved windows that reached a high degree of religious-art perfection, as did stores in Milwaukee, St. Paul and Minneapolis, Pittsburgh, New York City, Los Angeles.

The Lutherans of Minnesota inaugurated a billboard campaign that brought reverently beautiful posters of the Nativity into every sizable community. Nativity pageants were featured in the Midwest. Some cities, like Davenport, Iowa, set up a coordinating council which met many months before Christmas to perfect plans for a city-wide religious observance.

Articles concerning the movement began to appear in many magazines as interest in the project mounted. People began to write to one another asking for information, telling of plans and looking for methods to make the campaign for the Christ Child more effective.

Boys and girls caught the spirit. In one city, the members of the Boys Club earned the money to buy figures for a crib which the youngsters had made and hung above the entrance to the clubhouse.

From the beginning of November to December 21 NC News Service and Religious News Service carried between them, I have been informed, 32 stories on the activities of "Christ in Christmas" groups in 34 U. S. cities, as well as of similar groups in Canada, Great Britain, New Zealand and Japan.

Now, with Christmas of 1953 just past, this is what has been accomplished.

Thousands of communities had outdoor cribs or religious displays.

The great merchants of the nation used religious settings or erected cribs in store windows.

Over a million small cribs were placed in homes.

The demand for religious Christmas cards was high.

Street decorations were, for the most part, religious in character.

There was a noticeable increase in individual charity.

Many families took orphans into their homes for Christmas in memory of the Christ Child for whom there was "no room at the inn."

The campaign for the Christ Child worked wonders in the hearts of those who sponsored it—imbuing them with the spirit of genuine Christian brotherhood and filling their hearts with good will toward men.

AULEEN B. EBERHARDT

Theatre in decline

Stephen P. Ryan

It is no secret to anyone interested in the present state of the American stage that there is a shocking dearth of substantial, standard theatrical fare in the nation's playhouses. Maurice Evans, writing in the program notes for his highly successful *Dial M for Murder*, makes no apologies for his appearance in a play which he frankly admits to be no more than "good of its kind." He suggests, and there is no reason to doubt him, that it is "too expensive" for him to indulge in his admitted preference for Shakespeare and Shaw.

Here then we are faced with a fact: the professional theatre, with its activities limited, for all practical purposes, to Manhattan and a few other large cities of the Eastern seaboard, has committed itself to the box office, to giving the public what it believes the public wants. There have been in recent years notable exceptions to this decision to "play it safe." Broadway has seen the Oliviers in *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Caesar and Cleopatra*, Mr. Evans himself in *Man and Superman*, John Gielgud in *The Lady's Not for Burning*—all of which were financially successful and would seem to belie the pessimism of the producers. Of course there have also been the fine revivals at the New York City Center, in which the same Mr. Evans played such an important part as both producer and actor. All in all, however, the "classical" theatre has not been a really prominent part of the Broadway scene for many years. And who gets a chance to see these few good things? Residents of New York City and its environs and the scattering of outlanders who can afford an occasional jaunt to the "big town."

My wife and I were fortunate enough to spend the full academic year 1946-47 in England and Ireland. During the course of our 50-week residence we were able to attend 63 plays (at an average cost of about 60 cents per person per play). London, Dublin and the provincial towns provided a steady diet of great plays, well-acted and competently produced and staged. Sophocles, Shakespeare, Ben Johnson, John Webster, Sheridan, Yeats, Synge, Ibsen, Tchekov and Molière were but a few of the giants whose work graced the boards regularly; and there was first-rate contemporary theatre as well.

From this feast we returned to the famine of a typical American city located considerably more than forty-five minutes from Broadway. Famine it was and has been, for if important plays are rare in New York City they are virtually nonexistent elsewhere in these United States. The city to which we returned from abroad happened to be New Orleans, but it might just as well have been Omaha, or Atlanta, or Indianapolis, or Seattle. During the course of six years, 1947-53, the

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grand total of professional productions of serious, standard drama presented in New Orleans was seven. Here is the list: *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* (mediocre performances by Margaret Webster's company); *Twelfth Night* and *Love's Labour's Lost* (presented by Players Incorporated—professionals by courtesy title); the excellent Maurice Evans *Man and Superman*; a single production of the Boyer, Laughton *et al.* reading of *Don Juan in Hell*; and (I am stretching a point here) Katharine Cornell in Kate O'Brien's *That Lady*.

I have placed two deliberate limitations on my list: only professional productions are included, and only serious plays which have some pretensions to being important theatre are named. Omissions include performances of *Oklahoma* by fourth-string road companies and occasional offerings of the caliber of *Springtime for Henry*, *Ladies in Retirement*, *Mister Roberts* and *There's Always Juliet*.

I do not wish to be unreasonable. I know as well as Mr. Evans that it costs a lot of money to produce theatrical classics, that the risks are great, and the returns likely to be small. I further know that touring such plays long distances, far from the beaten theatrical track, adds considerably to the expense and possibly doubles the risk. Now, to my point—I do not place the blame for the decline of serious, first-rate drama on the professional theatre at all. That theatre is frankly geared to the making of money and always will be. No, the blame must be shouldered by our metropolitan little theatres, and our college and university dramatic groups which are not doing the job they were set up for, which have openly betrayed the principles upon which they were founded. There are notable exceptions to this state of affairs, and I shall have something further to say about them later in this article. But the fact remains that the people who should and could be giving us good theatre in the provinces are not doing it.

The European revolt against the commercial theatre with its star system, its actor-managers, and its box-office concentration began late in the last century with the movement spearheaded by Otto Braham's Free Stage Society in Berlin and J. T. Grein's Independent Theatre in London. It was to bear its finest

Mr. Ryan, who studied at University College in Dublin, is at present head of the English Department at Xavier University in New Orleans.

fruit in the Irish Literary Theatre (later the Abbey), and the Manchester Repertory Theatre. The idea reached the United States about the time of World War I, and we saw the establishment of the Provincetown Playhouse and hundreds of similar "little" repertory theatres throughout the country. The job of these theatres was (and is), as I see it, twofold: to perpetuate the best of the classical drama, and to give opportunity of expression to new playwrights whose work possessed genuine merit but which lacked the mass appeal necessary for success in the commercial theatre. For many years, through the 'twenties and early 'thirties, this twofold job was being done and done well.

The artistic decline of the little theatre began, I should say, shortly before, or during, World War II. The situation now is briefly this. The little theatres have sacrificed their artistic integrity to the box office and are now, to a shocking degree, not much more than amateur, imitative counterparts of the commercial theatres of New York. Fifteen or twenty years ago it was possible, for example, to attend in one little theatre, with which I am especially familiar, performances of Shakespeare, Shaw, Ibsen and Tchekov; today in that same theatre the best that subscribers can hope for is drama like *Bell, Book and Candle*, *There's Always Juliet*, *The Moon Is Blue*.

Some of the plays presented are undoubtedly "good of their kind." There is much that is first-rate in the contemporary theatre. But where are the great plays of the past? Above all, where are the experimental plays of the younger writers? A glance at the offerings of other little theatres reveals much the same picture. Several generations of high-school and college students in most American cities have never, for example, seen a Shakespearean play on the stage; and Shakespeare was never meant to be embalmed between the pages of the Globe edition or torn to shreds by well-meaning but indiscriminating high-school English teachers. Small wonder that many of these young people say they "hate Shakespeare."

There are, happily enough, exceptions to this dismal picture. The Little Theatre of Dallas, Texas, has pioneered in the presentation of interesting new plays which will probably never reach Broadway. The Hedgerow Theatre just outside Philadelphia has, to its eternal credit, persisted for more than twenty years in producing the best available drama, both old and new. Now it is moving from its suburban location to embark upon a twelve-week season in Philadelphia, where the company's repertory will be presented in the small foyer theatre of the historic Academy of Music. More power to this courageous group!

For the person with a car and a reasonable amount of time at his disposal, the summer theatres in this country (and in Canada) can be especially rewarding. A good example of the rewards to be found is the annual Shakespeare Festival at Antioch College in the little village of Yellow Springs, Ohio. This summer the Area Theatre there presented the complete cycle of the so-called Greco-Roman plays of Shake-

speare. Devotees could witness competent performances of such "curiosities" as *Timon of Athens*, *Pericles* and *Titus Andronicus* along with that sturdy old warhorse *Julius Caesar*. Capacity crowds seemed thoroughly to enjoy the plays at Antioch staged outdoors in a pleasant setting before the college's oldest building.

There was one other Shakespeare festival this past summer in the United States—at Ashland, Oregon; but certainly the most widely publicized such affair in the Western Hemisphere was the seven-week Shakespeare season presented across the Canadian border in Stratford, Ontario. There Alec Guinness and Irene Worth (of the Old Vic Company) appeared in *Richard III* and *All's Well that Ends Well*. The plays, directed by Tyrone Guthrie, were completely sold out for the entire engagement; next year the festival will be extended to three months.

To return to the United States, the touring American looking for good theatre during the summer will find it many places. In Philadelphia there is an excellent summer theatre in the heart of the city's Fairmount Park; during the past summer Shaw's *Arms and the Man* and Fry's *The Lady's Not for Burning* were among the offerings. Of course, there was *Springtime for Henry*, too, with the omnipresent Edward Everett Horton, but I suppose you must cater to all tastes. Throughout New York State and New England there are other interesting things on the "strawhat circuit"; a summer theatre in Falmouth, Mass., for example, produced Shakespeare's *King John* this summer. Farther south, there is the fine Barter Theatre in Abingdon, Virginia; and there are many other top-notch groups here and there in the country.

College and university dramatic groups have on the whole been as remiss as the little theatres in fulfilling their obligations to the literate and discriminating audiences in their communities. Too frequently, and with far less excuse than the little theatres, they have deliberately catered to the poorest tastes—imitating the standards of the commercial stage at its worst. Again there are happy exceptions. The work of the Antioch Theatre has already been noted; and the summer theatre at St. Michael's College in Vermont has done some praiseworthy things—this summer one of their plays was Fry's *Boy With a Cart*.

Catholic colleges have for many years enjoyed a fine reputation for dramatics; and in some of them (by no means all) the high standards of the past are maintained today. St. Joseph's College in Philadelphia during the past year presented *Hamlet* successfully for a two-week run. Loyola University in New Orleans dared this winter to produce *Oedipus Rex* (in translation, of course), and the city's leading dramatic critic hailed it as furnishing the finest evening in the theatre it had been his pleasure to enjoy for many years.

Among the State universities, Michigan, Northwestern and Indiana have taken the lead in rising above mere commercialism. College efforts, however, are spotty and a superior level is not maintained. None of

our college groups, for example, seems capable of such a near-professional standard as that displayed by the touring players of the Oxford University Dramatic Society with their performances of *The Alchemist* and *King Lear* when they visited the United States two years ago, unless it be the group at Catholic University in Washington.

There are, to sum up, bright spots, but there certainly are not enough of them. A living theatre cannot survive in New York City alone. If the legitimate stage

is allowed to die in the United States, generations yet unborn will be deprived of what surely must be one of the greatest and most satisfying pleasures our civilized society has ever produced. The sense of live theatre, the thrill of the curtain going up, the sense of being part of what is happening before us on the stage; all this can never be part of the "canned" art of movie, radio or TV. Lose this and you have lost an integral part of the best that our Western civilization has contributed to the world.

"On this razed ground"

THE RISE AND DECLINE OF LIBERALISM

By Thomas P. Neill. Bruce. 312p. \$5.50

We frequently hear opposite poles of political, economic and social theory propounded in the name of liberalism. States' Righters and Fair Dealers, management and labor leaders crown themselves with the halo of the "liberal." It is a sleazy word of many meanings.

It can connote a state of mind or emotion, a desire for change, a revolt against authority—or, with a capital "L," a body of doctrine. This last, Liberalism, is the subject of the present work.

Between 1815 and 1914 this doctrinal Liberalism itself underwent such a metamorphosis that we must distinguish the larva, pupa and moth stage. Dr. Neill of St. Louis University ably dissects classical, democratic and welfare Liberalism as each form of the changing ideology evolves out of and consumes its progenitor.

Some Liberals change with the times; some do not. Consequently, the sacred-property Liberal Herbert Spencer lives to condemn the all-male-vote Liberal John Stuart Mill and the welfare Liberal like Lloyd George. The plot on the American scene lags behind about a generation.

The sacred-property Liberal of 1830 diminishes the state to create big business; the Liberal of 1900—in England, 1930 in the United States—creates the welfare state to diminish big business. Beginning the nineteenth century by atomizing society to free the individual from every authority, Liberalism ends the century by denying "the human being any rights except those assigned to him by society, that is, by its agency, the state" (p. 277).

This biography of Liberalism is almost an autobiography. Through well-chosen, documented quotes the Liberals speak for themselves. We hear Voltaire, Adam Smith, Bentham, Malthus, Gladstone, the Webbs, the

young Churchill, T. R. Roosevelt, Shaw, Laski. The negative critique of Pius IX and T. S. Eliot, the positive critique of Leo XIII, Ozanam and Acton take on new shape in the hands of this scholar who gave us *Makers of the Modern Mind* some years back. The interweaving of all these threads of thought into a readable tapestry assures the true worth of this study.

In analyzing the historic role of Liberalism, Dr. Neill peeks into the philosophy of history. He agrees with Christopher Dawson that Liberalism drew much nourishment from Christian roots, especially the idea of the perfectibility of man. This the Liberal perverted by forgetting the counter-capacity of man to become more imperfect. Automatic linear progress upwards was the great Liberal mirage, an explosive mirage whose driving force was anarchical self-interest instead of Christian love.

We find here happy phrasing, freighted with meaning:

Victorian morality prevailed—a secularized Christian morality without an ontological basis. . . . Thus Western civilization lagged behind Liberal principles until near the end of the century, when finally the last of the reins and bridles imposed on the animal in Western man by a Christian past had worn out. . . . Human action has a way of eventually following theory (p. 304).

Liberalism proved to be a strong solvent, too strong. . . . In reducing men to a collection of isolated atoms, it stripped them of their supporting associations, and finally it left them standing naked before the state (p. 306).

The author grants that much in Liberalism was good: class barriers were destroyed, all citizens acquired equality before the law, there was constant probing for better social arrangements and material wealth. And we must save everything of value from its wreckage. But in dissolving the old society, Liberalism "was itself incapable of creating an enduring new society, in which persons could live a truly human existence" (p. 312).

On this razed ground Christian humanism must build today. A second

BOOKS

volume, *Liberalism in Prospect*, will soon survey the contemporary scene. To clarify today's muddled economic and political currents all men in public affairs would do well to read, even to study, this first volume.

J. B. GREMILLION

Russia—inside and out

THE INCOMPATIBLE ALLIES

By Gustav Hilger and Alfred G. Meyer. Macmillan. 350p. \$5

THE ORIGINS OF SOVIET-AMERICAN DIPLOMACY

By Robert Paul Browder. Princeton U. 256p. \$5

Gustav Hilger, born in Moscow (though of purely German origin), spent most of his life in Russia from 1923 to 1941 as a member of the German Embassy in Moscow. After the Nazi defeat in 1945, he came to the United States. This book, done with the cooperation of the young historian Alfred G. Meyer, contains his memoirs. Though the preface emphasizes that Mr. Hilger had to be reticent about some facts concerning living personalities, his book is most valuable for the student of the Soviet regime.

The mentality of the various Communist leaders and their devious methods are very well portrayed. One can find excellent characterizations of such men as Chicherin who was for many years the Commissar of Foreign Affairs in the Soviet Government, Litvinov, Molotov and Radek who for a long time was a kind of traveling salesman and publicity agent for the world revolution. Mr. Hilger frankly presents his political views as one of the most important architects of the German-Soviet pact of 1939. On the

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other hand, he does not hide the in-
human aspects of the Soviet regime
and emphasizes the extraordinary dif-
ficulties experienced in dealing with
the Soviet leaders, who have never
given up their aim of world revolution
and are obsessed by distrust and hate
of the capitalist world.

He believes, however, that they
were wrong who assumed that the
Soviet regime would soon collapse.
He summarizes his point of view in
the concluding remarks (p. 342):
"... German-Soviet relations, as they
developed in the years from 1922 to
1941, gave proof that a bourgeois
state can maintain relations with the
Soviet Union which are useful and
not immediately dangerous as long
as it is at least as strong, or at most
as weak, as the Soviet Union."

He is today, therefore, for coopera-
tion between Germany and the
United States, for a weak Germany
would be swallowed by the Soviet
Union. Does the experienced diplomat
Hilger believe that Germany ought to
return, after having again become
stronger, to her pre-war policies of
cooperation with the Soviet Union?

The pages in which the author de-
scribes the preparation of the Nazi-
Soviet pact are very interesting,
though it is somewhat difficult to un-
derstand how he and other German
representatives at the Embassy in
Moscow could believe that such a
pact would serve to maintain peace.
He believes today that Hitler's attack
against the Soviet Union meant the
doom of Germany.

Robert Browder's volume is a very
careful and dispassionate analysis of
the trends and circumstances which
resulted in the diplomatic recognition
of the Soviet regime by the United
States in 1933. The author points out
that the political and economic hopes
which were held by the advocates of
such a recognition were not fulfilled.
He regrets that the experience then
gained did not prevent the mentality
and methods of the Soviet regime
from being again misunderstood dur-
ing World War II:

... The lesson was badly learned.
Many of the same mistakes were
repeated at a time when the con-
sequences of error were incom-
parably more disastrous. In all
fairness, judgment should be
tempered by an appreciation of
the seriousness of the threat ...
during the war. ... But it is dif-
ficult to avoid the conclusion that
a more practical, less idealistic
approach to Russia during the
Second World War was justified
by the experiences of recognition
and its aftermath (p. 222).

Here is a book which deserves to be
read, and not only by specialists.

WALDEMAR GURIAN

We and the land

FARM POLICIES OF THE UNITED STATES, 1790-1950

By Murray R. Benedict. The Twenti-
eth Century Fund. 548p. \$5

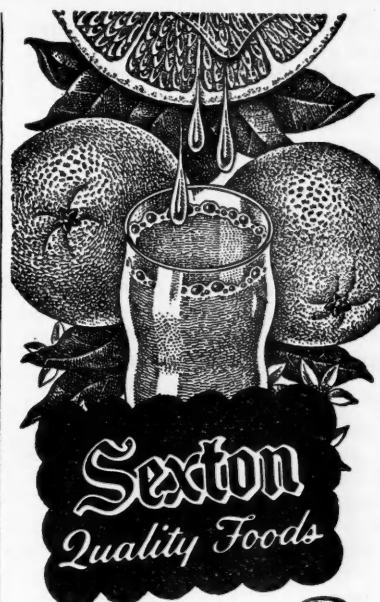
It is unfortunately true that the Amer-
ican public, largely an urban group, is
only dimly aware of its agricultural
sector. Divorced from the land by a
century of industrial growth, the pub-
lic has only some vague idea that the
farmer is a fellow who had it mighty
good during the war and afterwards,
but now, suffering from surpluses,
calls on the Government to bail him
out. With some perplexity, that pub-
lic views the avidity with which
the stand-on-your-own-two-feet farmer
laps up Federal aid in the form of a
gimmick called parity prices.

The Twentieth Century Fund, in
the belief that this lack of public in-
formation makes our agricultural
problem needlessly controversial, com-
missioned Dr. Benedict to prepare this
history as prelude to a companion
volume he will author in 1954. The
two will give an over-all picture of
the vast governmental operations in
the field of agriculture, and of their
causes and effects.

The present volume records all the
facets—economic, social, political and
psychological—of the evolution of
American farming. From the pioneer
settlers arose the early rugged, in-
dividualistic and freedom-loving traits
which resulted in a basic land policy
tending to favor the working farmer
and the family-type farm. These ideals
continue to dominate the farm mind,
however inconsistent they are with
the growth of the large commercial
farm and the second-looking at Fed-
eral aid.

With the advent of the industrial
revolution, a decline set in for ag-
riculture's primacy in our economic,
social and political life. Through this
skein of growth and decline Dr. Bene-
dict weaves the many threads of
changing farm interests. Particularly
well-treated is the farm concern with
monetary policies. From the Civil War
on, the farmer was faced with debts
he wanted to pay off in cheap dollars,
with the need for ready cash to move
crops, but above all with a constant
fear of falling prices. All this led him
to press for inflationary "greenback"
and silver policies, setting the stage
for the Populist revolt. To this day the
farmer remains an inflationist.

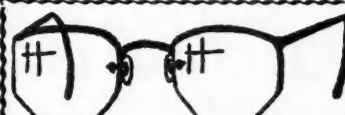
Insecurity led the farmer on to two
other roads he is only now abandon-
ing to some extent: the first is high
tariff protection; the second, antagon-
ism to monopoly. The unorganized
farmer feared, and with good reason,



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the unequal power of the railroads and the magnates who supplied his farm machinery. Dr. Benedict explains the role these various insecurities, as well as educational, social and altruistic purposes, played in the life of the great farm organizations which began with the Grangers in 1870.

The close of the nineteenth century approximately marked the end of the pioneer period. The new century found the farmer well-organized and raising a highly articulate and increasingly powerful voice in Congress. The rest of the history is presented largely in the terms of succeeding Administrations, Republican or Democrat.

The now-powerful farm organizations, aided by a strong farm bloc in Congress, pressed for emergency legislation against the two depressions—first of the 1920's, then of the 1930's—and for other longer-range policies aimed at "equality for agriculture." With the McNary-Haugen drive to have Government maintain farm prices above the free-market level based on world markets, the American farmer committed himself irrevocably to government intervention. And our current attempts to work out a long-range farm policy present us with the spectacle of farmers pressing for higher supports and more intervention in a

period of relatively high prosperity, with more prosperity in the offing.

The present Administration, as well as the last one, has in moments free from political pressure admitted that high inflexible supports in good times are a purely political approach that throws all economic considerations out the window. Dr. Benedict's book casts great light on the many legislative steps by which we have come to this pass.

Yet the record of farm policy is not all black. Lasting gains have been chalked up in low-term credit, marketing, conservation, rural electrification and still other areas. Unsolved, however, are such problems (besides that of "equality for agriculture") as improved farm housing, tenancy protection, migrant and other farm labor. Most crucial of all in the long run is what to do about the two million small, substandard farms. With dwindling resources and more mouths to feed, economics says eliminate a lot of them. But what then happens to our ideal of a strong family-farm population?

If Dr. Benedict's forthcoming volume sheds as much light as this one, he will have contributed immensely to forming sound social policy in all these bewildering areas.

PHILIP S. LAND

THE FOUR LIVES OF MUNDY TOLLIVER

By Ben Lucien Burman. Messner. 237p. \$3.75

Ben Lucien Burman, who struck a powerful blow on behalf of forthright, simple prose in his still-discussed article "The Cult of Unintelligibility" (*Saturday Review*, 11/1/52), strikes an even more solid one with his latest novel.

A soldier returned from the war, restless, looking for emotional ties, Mundy, while remaining most convincingly himself, is immediately and affectionately recognized as the average white male American, who in his own struggles and triumphs exhibits characteristics of his nation and of all humanity.

Whether he is courting Essie, a young girl whose rigidly religious mother separates the young lovers, running contraband "moonshine" to help out his Uncle Lace, or watching in bewilderment as the real nature of his mail-order bride unfolds itself, Mundy's desperate sense of loss, his soul-chilling fear of the police, his love that thrives on disappointment, become emotional experiences which involve the reader completely and satisfyingly.

Mr. Burman, an expert storyteller of the Mark Twain type, gains even greater reputation with this book, which although simple in plot, characterization and language, is rich in the warm understanding of human nature and in the colorful, tasteful prose style of its author. The chapters treating Mundy's arrest, trial and imprisonment seemed particularly excellent to this reviewer, heavily burdened as they are with the hopeless depression and inescapable sameness of days spent in prison.

Despite this somber episode, however, the story is a bright one, reflecting an optimistic literary outlook—almost unheard-of in modern fiction—and illustrating the author's concept of "realism," which if it does not directly picture man as a creature of God, does so indirectly by emphasizing his aspirations and nobler emotions.

Only a very sophisticated reader indeed will fail to enjoy Mundy Tolliver and his four lives.

ELEANOR F. CULHANE

REV. JOSEPH B. GREMILLION is pastor of St. Joseph's Church, Shreveport, La.

WALDEMAR GURIAN, author of *Bolshevism, The Future of Bolshevism and The Rise and Fall of Marxism*, is editor of *Review of Politics*, at the University of Notre Dame.

REV. PHILIP S. LAND, S.J., recently connected with the Institute of Social Order where he specialized in economics, is a contributing editor of *AMERICA*.

ELEANOR F. CULHANE, a former social worker, reviews occasionally for the *Boston Herald*.

THE WORD

"Thou shalt call His name Jesus; for He shall save His people from their sins" (Matt. 1:21).

"What's in a name?" asked poor Juliet desperately. An answer might be: in one Name there is everything. In one Name there is all strength and all light and all comfort. That is the meaning of the feast which we celebrate on the first Sunday of the new year, the Feast of the Holy Name of Jesus.

It is not unreasonable to distinguish three kinds of Catholics simply on the

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F. CULHANE

EMILLION is
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basis of their general and habitual attitude toward our Lord's Name. Someone has remarked in praise of the sturdy common sense of Holy Mother Church that she usually does not mistake the word for the reality. This one word, Jesus, in truth, is so utterly inseparable from the sacred reality which it represents that a man's attitude toward the Name becomes practically identical with a man's attitude toward the Person.

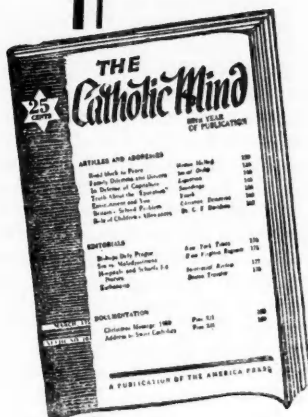
First, of course, there are Catholics for whom the Holy Name is a handy epithet in moments of stress. One gets the impression nowadays that there is an increasing number of at least nominal Christians in whose minds the Name Jesus Christ seems to have no more significance than the very similar name, Julius Caesar. Even practising and in some ways very loyal Catholic men have acquired this vicious habit. The Holy Name has become a common expletive, not only in the rougher occupations, but in the locker rooms of clubs. Catholic women, thank heavens, are almost entirely free of this sin of the tongue. However thoughtless the utterance, it is always shocking. Christians should rather be found dead than debasing the Name at which every head should bow in reverence.

For the vast majority of Catholics, however, the Holy Name is a Name which is indeed above all names as it is different from all names, a Name which ever and always commands instant reverence and respect, a Name which prompts the bowed head and the raised hat. Such is unquestionably the commonest Catholic attitude toward the blessed Name of Mary's Son and God's.

There are yet those for whom the Holy Name means not only something and not only the right thing, but actually everything. These people are not all secluded mystics; they very probably sit beside us in the bus or possibly work with us in the same office. For them the Name of Jesus is not an obligatory or somewhat helpful occasional prayer. It is an invisible and easy refuge which they carry about with them. It is the light which they turn on in their moments of darkness. It is gentle oil poured out on their troubled waters. It is sudden security no matter what menacing danger threatens. For these, this Name is truly a Name of sweetness, a sure antidote to all in daily life that is sour and bitter and brackish.

Jesu, dulcis memoria, sings a very ancient hymn: *Jesus, sweet just to remember*. And the unknown poet adds quickly, in the immemorial style of those who love, *super mel et omnia: sweeter than honey; sweeter than any-thing*. VINCENT P. MCCORRY, S.J.

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THEATRE

KISMET, installed at the Ziegfeld by Charles Lederer, is a musical version of Edward Knoblock's play of the same title, which in turn was borrowed from Arabian Nights. The leading character is a public poet called Hajj whose personality includes more than a slight tincture of rogue. All the action occurs in Baghdad, between one dawn and the next, in the glorious days of the capital of the Caliphs.

Between the two dawns Hajj, flamboyantly played by Alfred Drake, sky-rockets from rags to riches and succeeds in getting his daughter married to no less a personage than the reigning Caliph. Fabulous good fortune comes to him as the result of little effort, and probably less desert, on his part. Fate just chose to smile on him that day. It makes an ingratiating adult fairy tale which Mr. Lederer and Luther Davis, who wrote the book, and Alexander Borodin, who wrote the music, have translated into a tasty theatrical confection.

Albert Marre directed the production at a pace that reminds older theatre-goers of the acrobatics of Douglas Fairbanks in the silent films. The dances and musical numbers were staged by Jack Cole. Robert Wright and George Forrest contributed the lyrics and made the musical adaptation. High praise is due Lemuel Ayers for his settings and costumes and Peggy Clark for the lights. Thanks to their efforts, *Kismet* has a plausible, if not an authentic, oriental atmosphere and the color and glitter of a bazaar.

Mr. Drake is starred as the raffish Hajj, but the production teems with captivating performances, at least a dozen deserving mention which space forbids. Doretta Morrow is charmingly demure as the poet's loyal daughter, Richard Kiley is a likable young Caliph, Henry Calvin a comically villainous Wazir of police and Joan Diener humorously mischievous as his wife with a roving eye. The music, while not outstanding, is effectively rendered by Mr. Drake, Miss Morrow, Mr. Kiley and Miss Diener, reinforced by a resonant chorus.

JOHN MURRAY ANDERSON'S ALMANAC is a highly amusing brochure on sale at the Imperial. It would be considerably more entertaining if the sketch writers had covered a broader area of life in their search for subjects for satire. While the authors probably can find their way around in Paris

or Cairo as easily as in New York, they write as if they had never been five miles from Broadway. Their attention is confined to the foibles of the theatre, radio and literature. The result of this sophisticated parochialism is that several pages seem to be missing from the *Almanac*. One might have expected a lampoon of McCarthyism or of a Fifth Amendment fetishist or a congressional committee investigating the cherry-tree incident.

This, perhaps, is wishful thinking; so let's get on with the business at hand. All the sketches are cleverly constructed. Some, by Jean Kerr, Lauri Wylie, Richard Adler and Jerry Ross, are imaginatively trenchant. Your reviewer's preference would be Wylie's "Dinner for One."

Some of the merriest items in the *Almanac* are the "personals," contributed by Hermione Gingold and Orson Bean. The former is an English comedienne who might be described as a rowdy Beatrice Lillie. Billie DeWolfe is delectably deadpan in Mrs. Kerr's "My Cousin Who?"

Michael Grace, Stanley Gilkey and Harry Rigby are the publishers of the *Almanac*. Richard Adler and Jerry Ross wrote the music and lyrics. The settings were designed by Raoul Pène Du Bois. Mr. Anderson directed.

The *Almanac* is fast and breezy, definitely a pleasant show that could be helped a lot by more tuneful songs and better voices to sing them.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

FILMS

HEIDI. At a season when the youngsters expect to be taken to the movies and the selection of home-grown offerings is singularly lacking in suitable material, this European adaptation of a perennial juvenile favorite is especially welcome. Produced by Lazar Wechsler (*The Search*), the picture has two obvious drawbacks. It has "dubbed-in" English dialogue spoken to synchronize with the lip movements of the original German speech (though it performs this awkward feat with considerable dexterity and unobtrusiveness). And, set amid Alpine scenery that cries aloud for color, it is photographed in black and white. Otherwise the film displays an uncommon mastery of the difficult craft of making pictures about and for children so as to please the children without at the same time outraging their elders.

Its young heroine (Elspeth Sigmund), who is transported from the

wonder and strangeness of life in an Alpine hamlet to the completely different wonder and strangeness of life in a Frankfort mansion, is no sentimentalized Shirley Temple character. Rather she is a sturdily resilient youngster with a considerable capacity for mischief behind her naturally sunny disposition. The other two children, Peter the goatherd and Klara the invalid German girl, are likewise personalities to be reckoned with. The adult "heavies" are humorously fatuous rather than really malicious, and the rest of the grownups are played with restraint and kindly disposed common sense. Altogether the film captures well nigh perfectly both the spirit of a childhood tale, and, as a nostalgic dividend, the quaint and tranquil atmosphere of its late nineteenth-century setting.

(United Artists)

MISS SADIE THOMPSON. The furor over the original dramatization of Somerset Maugham's "Rain," of which this is a modernized adaptation, was before my time. Twenty-five years later, the untested pious assumptions it may once have contravened have been pretty much exploded. The theatre, for better or for worse, has gone in for a heavier brand of "realism" than Somerset Maugham dreamed of. It is hard for today's moviegoer to figure out what all the shouting was about.

If the play's capacity to shock is now inexplicable, so also, on the basis of the present movie version, is its ability to hold an audience. Dressed up in Technicolor, 3D and a million-dollar production, the story seems both thrashy and pointless, and consequently overpoweringly dull. This is partly due to the above-mentioned change in the attitude of audiences. There is no longer anything particularly provocative in the notion that a prostitute is a human being who may want to reform, or that a reformer's fanatical hatred of sins and sinners of the flesh may be a reflection of his own subconscious inclinations.

Mostly, though, the film's shortcomings are traceable to the fact that apparently Harry Kleiner fashioned the new screen play under orders to turn it into a typical Rita Hayworth vehicle. As a result, Sadie the penitent sinner is de-emphasized to allow Sadie the fun-loving, kinetically attractive good-bad girl plenty of footage to be her own charming self and to raise the morale of the Marines on a Pacific island with a series of burlesque routines. The end product is sufficiently lurid in its later developments, but it is either entirely lacking in a point of view or else harbors several that are mutually exclusive. Mr.

Davidson, the reformer (by request of the Production Code Administration he is no longer a minister, though under the circumstances this seems a distinction without a difference) is played by José Ferrer with flashes of his accustomed distinction. Essentially, however, he is no more real than the rest of the proceedings.

(Columbia)
MOIRA WALSH

PARADE

THERE IS NOTHING ELSE LIKE it. . . . There never has been anything like it. . . . There never will be anything like it. . . . Who ever heard of an annual birthday festival for Buddha that attracted teeming millions in all the continents and islands of the World? . . . Who ever heard of vast multitudes from all the nations and races of earth gathering reverently each year around the crib of the infant Mohammed? . . . The answer is: nobody. . . . These things are the stuff that dreams are made of. . . . Other unrealities are woven of the same stuff. . . . Who ever heard of families who decorate their homes each year in preparation for the natal day of Julius Caesar? . . . Who ever heard of men, women and children hailing one another annually with the salutation: "Merry Plato Day"? . . . History records nothing like this. . . . Nor does it record similar fantasies. . . . The newspapers of the world never run features detailing how the Post Office labors under an avalanche of greetings commemorating the birthday of Socrates. . . . Radio and television stations never run annual advertisements promoting programs built around the birthday of Aristotle or Cicero or Virgil, or, with just one exception, any other historical figure of the long ago.

There is one Figure in ancient history who is also a modern Figure. . . . In the case of this historical Figure, radio and television stations do, each year, build programs around His birthday. . . . Newspapers do run feature stories relating how the Post Office groans under the avalanche of greetings commemorating the day. . . . All over the globe, men, women and children do hail one another with a salutation containing His Name. . . . Families, millions upon millions of them, do decorate their homes each year in preparation for His natal day. . . . In numbers like the leaves of the trees, people from all the nations and

all the races of earth do, each year, gather reverently around the crib which represents the manger in which He lay. . . . There is nothing else like the celebration of this birthday. . . . There never has been anything like it. . . . There never will be anything like it. . . . On this birthday, the whole world hears the sound of marching feet. . . . Eskimos in Alaska; great crowds throughout Canada, move toward the Crib. . . . In Boston, New York, Philadelphia, New Orleans, Chicago, San Francisco, all over the United States, millions upon millions of people gather around the Crib. . . . All over South America, in Ireland, in England, in Holland, in Germany, in Italy, throughout Europe, the sound of millions moving toward the Crib is heard. . . . Even behind the

Iron and Bamboo Curtains, the slaves of God-hating tyrants venerate the Crib in their hearts. . . . Throughout Africa, throughout the Near East and the Far East, throughout the islands of the Southern Seas, other millions take their places around the Crib.

If in one glance, a man could see the great masses of people bowing before the Crib all over the world on Christmas Day, he would stare breathless at the stupendous scene, and gasp: "Only God could draw human hearts like this." . . . There is nothing else like it. . . . There never has been anything like it. . . . There never will be anything like it, because Christmas Day marks the birthday of the Babe who is Almighty God.

JOHN A. TOOMEY

NEW PRESS MONTH KIT NOW AVAILABLE!

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OUT OF PRINT BOOKS located. Maimone Book Search, Box 29, Peck Slip Station, New York 38, N. Y.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Let the people know

EDITOR: In the Dec. 5 *AMERICA* Dr. Francis Joseph Brown stressed the need for teaching the social encyclicals in Catholic colleges.

Even more important, to my mind, is teaching the encyclicals to the people: to the workers, to the increasingly large number of middle-class Catholics, to the small number of wealthy Catholics.

I have been a social worker for more than twenty years. As a religious activity, I have for the past six years been teaching in a Catholic labor school. As a result of my experience in these occupations, I have come to two major conclusions:

1. The Church has a steadily decreasing membership and influence among the poor, the exploited, the segment of the population which lives one pay-check away from destitution.

2. The conduct of the middle-class or upper-class Catholic is regulated by the *mores* of his group, rather than by the moral, and particularly the social, teachings of the Church.

Last summer I read the late Cardinal Suhard's book, *The Church Today*. The parts which tell of the relationship between the poor and the Church in France are, I believe, a terrifying picture of what conditions will be in the United States by about the year 2000.

JOHN C. CAREY

New York, N. Y.

Of Christmas gifts and greetings

EDITOR: I enjoyed Beata Brady's Feature "X" on "Merry Isthmus" (12/12).

Our school, along with many others, is having a "Christ in Christmas" drive. Mrs. Brady's article gave us renewed vigor and much encouragement. Our favorite slogan is "Send Christmas cards, not Xmas cards."

BERENICE BREITHAUP

Drexel Hill, Pa.

EDITOR: Beata Brady might consider that those who inquire after her children at Christmas time may be genuinely interested in them. Those who remark that Christmas will be a "big time" at her house are simply recognizing that Christmas is "childhood time"—a time of innocence and gaiety.

(MRS.) PATRICIA M. KAUFMAN

Tulsa, Okla.

EDITOR: I do not receive too many of festive greeting cards at Christmas. Rather, I feel a genuine pride in the progress made in just a few years in

"selling" religious cards to a public that had hardly ever seen any.

Mrs. Brady dislikes the idea of Christmas being "God's gifts to businessmen." She might recall the many times during the year when worthy causes solicit the financial support of these same businessmen—and receive it. (MRS.) DOROTHY F. FOLEY

Mont Clare, Pa.

"Exhuming the past"

EDITOR: I note, without surprise, that, in your issue of Nov. 28 you "hope" this exhuming of the past soon becomes a 'matter of history'."

I do not agree with you and the President that it will, or that it should. The American people did not wish the Credit Mobilier or the Teapot Dome scandals to be concealed or forgotten. They will hardly wish the treasonable acts which led to the fall of China to communism, with its terrible effects on the United States, to be smoothed over, especially by friends of a President who still defends those acts and tells a half-dozen conflicting accounts of how he consented to them.

HERBERT D. A. DONOVAN

New Hyde Park, N. Y.

President and Congress

EDITOR: In his column for Dec. 19, Fr. Parsons was speaking of the separation of powers in operation in Washington today. I think the explanation of the President's deference to Sen. Taft lay in his recognition of his own political inexperience. Mr. Taft certainly had the "know-how" of the Washington scene.

The reason for the President's continuing to deal with Congress as he does is his desire to set up friendly working relations with the National Legislature, something missing the past fifteen years.

To make any other inferences from the way Mr. Eisenhower has been proceeding is, to me, to conclude something from insufficient premises.

JOSEPH McMILLAN

Philadelphia, Pa.

Good word

EDITOR: May I sound a note of appreciation of Fr. McCorry's weekly "Word"? His is indeed a real art with words. He makes of the Gospel message a luminous, joyous and very relevant guide to thought and action.

WILLIAM F. REILLY JR.

Levittown, N. Y.